need only be noted here that few Monguors are rich enough to hire Chinese or Monguor bricklayers and carpenters. Most Monguors build their own houses.

Rich people lay a foundation of brick for the mud walls of their houses. Even poor people, though they build their own houses, buy the frames for their doors and windows from Chinese carpenters. When a new house is built, the young people of the whole village come to help in putting up the mud walls of the enclosure. They ask no pay for this work, but are rewarded with a dinner. A peculiarity of all Monguor courtyards is that in the middle of the enclosure stands a pole from which flies a "prayer flag" on which prayers have been written in Tibetan. At the base of this pole there is a small oven for burnt offerings; but sometimes the oven is built on top of the roof of the living room.

The Monguors do not have much in the way of furniture. The living quarters of each nuclear family within the extended family consist of only a single room. Wealthier people may have "*k'ang* tables"—low tables, with very short legs, set on the *k'ang*. These are of the right height for people sitting crosslegged. Poorer people may have, in front of the *k'ang*, a rough table with homemade benches. A plank, on wooden pegs driven into the wall, serves for bowls and dishes. For household work, the Monguors made their own brooms from millet straw or tamarisk twigs. Only rich people paint the woodwork of their houses. Even in a poor family, however, there hangs on the wall of the chief of the family a picture of the guardian deity of the family, and in front of this picture there is a low table with brass butter lamps and bowls for offerings.

The fuel used by the Monguors is chiefly the dung of horses, cows, and sheep, dried in the sun. The gathering of this fuel means constant hard work for the wives, who must always have some reserve in case it is raining and dry fuel cannot be gathered. Sheep dung gives the most heat. It is dug out in bricks where it has accumulated and been trampled hard in the sheep pens. Straw and dry grass are also used in the little fireplaces that heat the *k'angs*. This fuel gives a quick, hot flame; though it does not last long, the sparks are drawn by the draft into the flues that run under the *k'ang*, where they set the accumulated soot smoldering, thus providing a low but relatively steady heat through the night.

During the winter the Monguor men, who work so much less than the women, spend most of the day sitting on the *k'ang*, either at home or at a neighbor's house. A primitive brazier is made by laying some bricks in a circle in which earth is placed to hold the fire. On the earth is put a mixture of sheep dung, husks, and chaff. This mixture burns slowly all day and is hot enough to boil tea. The men light their pipes from this glowing mixture, and sit all day long gossiping cheerfully in a haze of smoke.

[P. 1166]

/41 cont'd/

585 Care is taken to invite for the event a master of ceremonies (called Lordziwa, from the Tibetan Lo-rgyus, "narration," "speech"); he will be a man highly regarded in the region, eloquent and adroit. He will make all the necessary arrangements, will give orders, will smooth out all the difficulties which could arise, and will pronounce the traditional speeches at the desired moment. He will have at his disposal two well-trained men, whom he will have close at hand and who will serve the guests at the table.

[342 343] The courtyard is made ready for the festivity, for it is there that it will take place; whether it is freezing hard or pouring rain, no matter. Besides, the T'ou-jen houses have no room which could hold 40 or 50 guests. The courtyard usually being rectangular, they build several masonry supports 30 centimeters high, on which are laid planks which serve as tables. These tables are two feet wide. The planks are not fastened together, are not painted, are not /42/ even covered with tablecloths. Fitted together, they form a single piece and are arranged in a horseshoe. /See illustration 5./ The serving is done from inside the tables. The guests are seated on the outside, on pieces of felt spread out on the ground or on straw. Care is taken to hang cloths above the courtyard, which give the illusion of being seated in a vast tent. The decoration of the courtyard consists of some Chinese paper lanterns hung overhead and some red silk streamers, 30 to 40 centimeters wide, draped lengthwise of the courtyard. In a corner two or three Chinese musicians make a racket.

[372] In the middle of the rectangle of tables burns a large fire, the sacred fire of the shamanists. From time to time they throw cypress branches on the fire as incense. Several paces lower than the fire, in the posterior part of the rectangle, are laid out horizontally on two little walls two doors taken off their hinges; they serve as a table where the presents are displayed. Add a few hens which scratch about in the courtyard, several lambs which clutter up the open space, several children who run between one's legs, and that is pretty much the scene of the festivity.

/91 cont'd/

587 widow-daughter only when the go-betweens have paid them ing ts'in ts'ien, i.e., "cash for cooperation in the marriage," ordinarily 12 strings of cash. This sum paid, no time is lost; they hurry to put the widow in the saddle, the band surrounds her and leaves post-haste, taking care to go a roundabout way in order to escape all risk and conduct her safe and sound to the home of her new husband.

On arrival she dismounts; a fire is lighted in great haste in front of the house, and the widow is presented with the paper which one burns for the dead. She kneels and burns it in memory of her dead husband; then she offers up a libation of gin for him. She stands and looks into space for several moments. /92/ This is the wang heou k'an /"taking the last look"/, the farewell look toward her [782 372] dead husband. She passes over the fire so that all the bad influences which could have attached themselves to her, or the bad spirits which could have followed her, will vanish. Having crossed the fire, she enters the house only after taking off her little felt hat and undoing her hair, which she rolls up carelessly and puts back under her hat. She will wear her hair in the style of the women of the clan or village to which she is henceforth deemed to belong.

The armed band is invited to a light meal composed of bread, meat, tea, and gin. The widow takes tea with the women of the family.

4. Settling of Accounts

597 583 177 The widow is not secure so long as the accounts are not settled and the contract is not signed; so they hurry first thing in the morning to finish the business. The go-betweens first pay secret sums to the grumblers, then accounts are settled with the parents-in-law and the widow. For this purpose they are asked to go, not to the home of the new husband, but to a friend's home or to a remote place. The price of a girl is paid in full, while that of a widow is subject to bold acts of stinginess. Only judge: 600 cash are worth 1,000; at present, animals must be accepted in place of paying in silver, and they are evaluated at double their value. They give cloth which they claim

[41 cont.]

Prayer fee: bosë (10) [see Note 10 on p. 67].

Tea provided in the lamic monastery: mäntsia (mändzia) (10) [see Note 10 on p. 67].

Taboo of the compound: udie dzilā-; chi-men (Chin.) = to forbid the door.

[Pages 41-43 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

[43] III. Customs concerning the Dwelling and Settlement

1. The Incense Sacrifice*

*See "Notes," pp. 46-49 [of the foreign text]. In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

Every day at sunrise the house and yard are swept clean. The housewife fans the family fire on the kang, around which young and old gather during the day. The master of the house washes his hands and face (1), takes some coals from the fire,

1. [Foreign text p. 46.] This ablution is undertaken for all religious activities, and it is also the common way of washing oneself in the morning. Since washbowls are unknown or have been used only recently, it is done in the following way: one takes a mouthful of water from a bowl and rinses the mouth; then he

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[Note on foreign text p. 46 cont.] takes a second mouthful and lets it run out of the mouth over the cupped hands and washes them; the third mouthful, allowed to run into the hand in the same way, serves to wash the face. This is repeated as desired, until one is clean. In case someone has a washbowl, he may under no circumstances forget to rinse his mouth, because that is part of the purification for a religious ceremony.

and puts them on the incense plate under the mani-tree out in the yard. There he blows on the coals to make a large flame, throws cypress twigs, butter, tsamba, flowers, spices, tea leaves, sugar, and a number of colored threads into it, and finally sprinkles the fire with pure water. Then, when the smoke rises up, the conch is blown, and the master of the house, as well as all those standing by, makes a three-fold kowtow three times in front of the fire. With this the morning offering is concluded, and all go to their daily work.

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Persons: Usually the master of the household presents the incense offering. In his stead, however, another male member of the family may perform the act, but never women, unless there is no male person in the house and the children are still too small. Women may be present and make the kowtow, just as they also sweep the yard, set the things in readiness, and even hand them over for the offering. The conch is usually blown by someone who does not perform the offering. If the master of the household making the offering does it himself, it is done before the kowtow.

[44 cont.]

782 372 Offerings: The fire need not be taken from the hearth or from the kang. It may be freshly lighted in the yard. It is all the same no matter which device is used for starting the fire, matches, flint, etc. To feed the fire when kindling it, straw is most commonly used. Malodorous fuels, like coal, dried dung, etc., which otherwise prevail in profane use, are not allowed.

782 824 The twigs of the cypress tree serve as incense (3).

3. [Foreign text pp. 46-47.] The cypress used for incense is the tuja tree, vulgar: tree of life. Everywhere in Tsinghai this tree is regarded as a superior tree, even among the Chinese, who prefer to use its wood for coffins. The Chinese name is pai-shu (pei-shu or pei-mu) = cedar, juniper, cypress. The Tujen word šgua is a contraction of the Tibetan šug-pa. šug-pa, as the juniper group is called, is native to Tibet: Juniperus excelsa, Juniperus squamosa, Juniperus communis. See Ch. Das, p. 1239 ff. saṅs šiṅ is given there as a synonym: wood of purity. saṅs, however, may also mean "to vaporize, to evaporate," etc.; cf. loc. cit., p. 1265: "evaporation" [cited in English]. Of the other synonyms, lha-yi šiṅ (gods-tree) should be mentioned because the informant, too, maintains that the tree is sacred to Lhamo. If genuine juniper is available, for instance, in wild mountain regions, it, with its berries, is preferred for the incense burning. The Tujen word fdzaṅ (šdzaṅ, saṅ), according to the informant, comes from the

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1 [i.e the fire for the morning offering - ANALYST]

[45 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 49 cont.] offering is widespread everywhere among the nomads of Tsinghai and has been partially taken over by the Chinese. It is also practiced in all lamic monasteries. Even if it does not come from Buddhism, it has been taken up by it in the ritual and honored with "incense-sutras," which are recited during the burning of aromatic substances in honor of the gods. The additions superimposed on the original simple form also come from Lamaism. Concerning this original form, its origin and religious dedication to heaven, cf. Part Two.

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The purification-fire: Aside from this incense offering, cypress incense is also burned on other occasions, but only for purification, for example, to fumigate the house to drive away the demons, to fumigate the sacrificial sheep, to fumigate the face and hands at religious ceremonies. This fire, however, is accorded no veneration; no kowtow is made before it; it is not sprinkled with water, and no butter or any kind of addition is put in it. It is not an offering. Should someone accidentally burn an actual incense offering, he can use even this for the purpose of purification (9).

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9. [Foreign text p. 49.] On other occasions, too, the fire is used as a means of purification. For instance, according to an ancient custom, a Tujen widow, when she remarries, must step across a fire, just as among the Chia-Fandse the bride is led over fir-tree fire (sung-p'an). The fire-jumping in the night of the full moon after New Year's may have the same significance; cf. "The New Year's Festival," Note 6. Not only the fire has

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[45 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 49 cont.] this purificatory effect, however, but also the incense itself. This is shown by its name, "purity-wood," and by the use of bsañs as a verb, which, according to Ch. Das (p. 1316), means "to cleanse, to remove" [cited in English]. For this reason incense is also scattered in the water with the red-hot stone (ch'ü-t'an) that is used for cultic purification.

Word List

192 Cypress tree: šgua sdziõdzẽ (3) [see Note 3 above].
782 Cypress: šgua.
[824] Cypress incense: fdzañ (šdzañ, dzañ, sañ) (Tib. loanword).
Tsamba offering: fdzañ šdzam (Tib. loanword).
Tsamba (profane): talġa (11).

11. [Foreign text p. 49.] talġa: Tib. t'al ba or t'al k'a = powder, dust, ash; Mong. talxa = flour, rye flour, barley flour.

ġlu-smän: Tib. klu sman = the dragon medicine, bot. Angelica. There are four kinds, of which the black and the white are the best. The white Angelica is used against sickness from the earth-dragon. In Mongolic it is called luus-un em = dragon-medicine.

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snaġsog: Tib. sna = many, and ts'ogs = kind. lisi = Tib. li-ši = Carophyllus. gušgum: Tib. gur-gum = saffron, crocus. sësmiel: Tib. sug-smel (rmel) = cardamom; Chin. pai-tou kuan

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[45 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 49 cont.]
(white bean-tressel). gagula: Tib. ka ko la = Amomum medium; Chin. ts'ao-kuo (straw-fruit). dzati: Tib. dsa tsi (Sanskr.) = nutmeg. ġawur: Tib. ga-bur (Sanskr.) = camphor (Unkrig).

Spices: ġlu (ġlo, ġlẽ) sëmän; ġlu (Tib. loanword) = earth-god;
sëmän (Tib. loanword) = medicine, spice (11) [see Note 11 above].

Känba flowers: känba.

Incense additions: rdzẽ (Tib. loanword) = additions, things.
snaġsoġ fdzañ rdzẽ (Tib. loanword) = many kinds of incense additions (4), (11) [see Notes 4 and 11 above].

Cloves: lisi (Tib.); ting hsiang (Chin.) (11) [see Note 11 above].

Saffron: gušgum (Tib.); tsang hung-hua (Chin.) (11) [see Note 11 above].

Cardamom: sësmiel (Tib.); i-chi-jen (Chin.) (11) [see Note 11 above].

Marl: gagula (Tib); ts'ao-kuo (Chin.) (11) [see Note 11 above].

Nutmeg: dzati (Tib.); jou-kuo (Chin.) (11) [see Note 11 above].

Camphor: ġawur (Tib.); ping-p'ien (Chin.) (11) [see Note 11 above].

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Milk (profane): sun.

Libation: tsiab (tsiaw) (Tib.) (6) [see Note 6 above].

[534] Conch: doñ (Tib. loanword) = trumpet, horn (7) [see Note 7 above].

Heaven, you know it: tieṅgërë mudie.

[372] Purification-fire: sündur (Tib. loanword).

[58 cont.]

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[Foreign text p. 61 cont.]
New Year, very early in the morning, as I observed. On this occasion a great incense offering with a great many small dough-lamps are burned, bread, tea, and barley wine are offered, and finally a pack of paper horse-images with all kinds of inscriptions is thrown into the air and scattered in all directions by the wind. The entire ceremony takes place on a mountain. In case of misfortune anyone may undertake this ceremony at will.

*778 782 The sheep offering: When a lama has raised the mani-pole, then there remains the above-described offering of bread wine, flowers, etc. After that the lama withdraws into the [791] [787] house. In the yard the spear-soothsayer divines once more whether the spirits want another sheep offering or not. The soothsayer then announces the will of the spirit; sometimes the latter dispenses with a sheep offering; sometimes he wants to have it immediately, and sometimes only after a few days. [357] [784] [792] The yard must then remain taboo for that length of time. -- The sheep offering is never given in the presence of the lama, since it is, of course, always connected with the killing of the animal, and the lamas do not permit killing. The ritual of the sheep offering does not differ from the usual slaughter- and offering-ritual.

*778 Renewal of the mani-tree: If in the course of time the tree or the flag have suffered damage, they are renewed, that is, only the part that is damaged. The tattered flag is [372] burned, for instance, in the hearth or in a fire specially kindled for it, but always with pure firewood, never with the usual dry dung, for example. The unusable mani-tree is likewise burned. In no case may it be used for other purposes,

[626 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 628 cont.] The fumigating with the red-hot stone is supposed to purify the house and drive away the demons, like the exploding of rockets.

Then a second offering follows. The master of the household takes little sticks of incense, one for each member of the family, and lights them in the room above the lamp. Then he goes out around the mani-pole and, with all the members of the family, makes a threefold kowtow to the sky, facing the main house. He puts the little sticks in the incense oven on the round manger. Then the same ceremony is repeated in the house before the household altar, where the new little sticks continue to smolder in the incense basin. During the entire ceremony rockets and cannons are fired in order to scare away the demons. Together with the incense, yellow paper is also burned, exactly as among the Chinese (8).

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8. [Foreign text p. 629.] As among the Chinese, the hearth-god is also carried off and on New Year's morning is again festively carried in. I was unable to learn anything concerning an original Tujen ceremony with respect to the hearth fire. Since time immemorial an incense offering has been made to the hearth-god, but it is uncertain whether on this occasion cypress twigs were thrown into the fire. Nowadays little sticks of incense are generally put on the wall behind the hearth, precisely as among the Chinese.

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Another fire ceremony takes place in the first full-moon night of the year from the fourteenth to the fifteenth day. Young people light a series of little straw fires (10 to 15) on the path or on

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[626 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 629 cont.] the threshing floor and jump over them. It is said that this is done in order to become pure; others say it is only for fun. The Chinese there, who also have this custom, maintain that it is an old Chinese practice. They also tell a legend about it, which I have forgotten. It has something to do with a battle ruse of old heroes whose memory one wants to celebrate. -- For the purificatory fire, cf. section, "The Incense Offering," Note 9.

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It is precisely in the New Year's practices that the strong mixture with Chinese customs appears, so that in individual instances it is impossible to say definitely what originally belonged to the Tujen. One can safely ascribe to them, however, the ying-hsi ceremony, renewal of the animal consecration, and above all the dancing and singing of songs, which the Chinese do not know.

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The dances with song point to a close connection with the waxing moon, since they are usually performed at night on the fifteenth day, even throughout the night. It is almost as though the New Year's festival applies primarily to the new moon. After the first full moon, everything is quite suddenly broken off.

Once the incense ceremony is over, the master of the household places a table in the yard before the round manger. On it are put trays with five steamed loaves, five oil-loaves, three tagur loaves, and all kinds of baked goods (3) [see Note 3 above]. Then a bowl of barley wine is poured out and a

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764 792 The lama now takes his place on the bed or the door, over which a white mat has been spread, on the west side of the oven. His face is turned toward the east, facing that of the dead person. Before him stands a little kang table with his cult implements. Next to it lie two pieces of sacking, on which two white cloth runners have been spread; the little plates with the spices and the materials for the fire-pouring (cf. the appropriate section) stand on that. On the white cloth there is also a tray with a torma. The lama prepared it in the morning in the house of mourning and brought it along. This torma represents a spirit that protects the dead person and leads him westward into the land of rebirth. -- The lama comes from the west, the land of the Buddhas, and goes to the east; therefore he is seated opposite the dead person.

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764 372 The fire preparation: Now the iron kettle is put on three stones and a great fire is kindled under it; it does not matter how this fire is made. Several lumps of butter are thrown into the kettle and allowed to melt. The men then make the lighting pole, while the lama begins the prayers for the dead.

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The lighting pole is a stick two to three meters long. Any wood desired can be used for it. A thick strand of cotton wadding is wound on one end. The master of ceremonies now brings a paper lantern, in which there is a small butter-lamp. It must be a butter-lamp; an oil-lamp or a candle is not permitted. In olden times there were no butter-lamps either, but wooden splinters from the oil fir. This lamp may not be lighted with ordinary fire, for instance, with the fire from the butter-kettle. It must be new fire which is struck from the flint on the first blow. If the master of ceremonies does not get a spark the first time, he may not try it a second time with the same stone. For this reason he keeps a whole series of flint stones in readiness (18). Now if the spark has fallen on the

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18. [Foreign text 656.] In recent times matches are also used instead of the flint stones. In this case, too,

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[Note on foreign text p. 656 cont.]
however, the match must burn at the first stroke; otherwise one throws it away and takes a second one.

tinder at the first blow and has ignited it, then the master of ceremonies takes a handful of straw, holds the glowing tinder in it, and blows the whole thing into a bright flame, with which he lights the butter-lamp. Then he soaks the lighting pole in the butter-kettle containing the fluid butter, holds it over the butter-lamp in the lantern until the head of cotton wadding flares up brightly, and lights the oven with it through the four fire holes. Meanwhile the lama proceeds with his prayers. As [792] soon as the flames rise high, the master of ceremonies takes the soul-guide torma and throws it from above into the oven onto the corpse; it is burned with it. Then the lama undertakes the fire-pouring.

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Cremation and fire-pouring: The ceremony of the fire-pouring is the same as on other occasions. Only here the butter and the spices are thrown onto the [645] corpse in the oven, for which the lama holds the pouring-tube over the edge of the oven. The spices, however, are thrown into the flames by the master of ceremonies. The lama takes only a pinch each time and puts it on a [illustration appears here] little plate which the master of ceremonies holds in his hand. When the butter and the spices are used up, the lama ends his prayer and goes to the house. With him go the master of ceremonies, the sons-in-law, and the nephews.

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Only the two fire guards remain behind. They shatter the box, burn it with the corpse, and wait until the corpse is completely reduced to ashes. This takes several hours. Then they put the little bone-casket that was brought along in one of the fire holes without the bones and cover it with earth. They put boards over the still smoldering oven, which they weight with rocks and lumps of earth so that dogs and wolves cannot get in, and then they go home. They leave the oven alone. After three days the bones are stored.

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[Note on foreign text p. 656 cont.]
back and forth, but in all probability it is to catch the mirror images of the boys who have been brought before the Kampo and to wash these images.

[778] One thus baptized may now also, regardless of his youthful age, receive the age-consecration and become a member of the monks. Through this, every person, whether man or woman, from the twentieth year on, is assured of having the fire-pouring [783] by the lama at the cremation. The fire-pouring is a purifica- [372] tion for the dead, similar to baptism.

764 Ordinary cremation: If no fire-pouring takes place, then
766 no lama appears at the cremation. All ceremonies are dispensed with. The cremation is likewise taken care of by the master of [792] ceremonies, the two fire guards, the sons-in-law, and the nephews. But no lighting pole is used, no butter melted, and no fire struck; rather, the oven is lighted with any piece of [372] wood or a match. Nonetheless insofar as possible one sees to it that cypress twigs are at hand for kindling the fire. This is desirable, but not essential.

764 [646] Bone storage and later interment: One waits three
602 days for the bone storage. During these three days the members of the family go to the oven every evening, burn paper there, kowtow, and pour tea and soup on the ground.

On the morning of the third day the relatives on the father's side gather in the house of mourning and drink tea. Afterwards they go to the place of cremation, that is, the men and women of the deceased's own family and at least one man, but no women, of the related families, and furthermore the master of ceremonies and the two fire guards. The relatives on the mother's side do not appear any more. At the [782] oven they make an offering of 12 loaves and several pieces of thin unleavened flat bread, burn paper, and set down tea.
764 After they have then kowtowed, men and women dig the bones out of the four fire holes and put them in the bone-casket. Only

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755 During this time a man heats the seven white stones in
756 the hearth fire until they are red-hot. Then he takes them out with an iron spoon and with it hands them to the shaman. The latter takes one stone after another in his mouth and spits them into the kettle. Then he throws the other things, the lock, the flowers, and the prayer texts, into the water and finally pours in the bowl of liquor. Now the sick person is completely disrobed, and the shaman washes him from top to bottom with his one free hand, scooping the boiling water out of the kettle with his hand. Then the sick person is put back on his kang in the house.

The water remains in the kettle, on the following two days, when the shaman has already gone, the people must repeat the washing. On the third day they pour out the water in front of the yard gate. They can use the things, the lock, knife, etc., again for ordinary purposes.

755 The fire-blowing: After the washing the shaman goes into the room of the sick person. During this time the men in
372 the yard start a strong fire with sheep dung and wood. They put
756 a plowshare in it and make it white-hot. A man puts a stick
[787] through the white-hot plowshare and takes it in to the shaman, who is still in a trance, but has given his sword to another man. Now he seizes the glowing plowshare with both hands with a hada that hangs from his breast-mirror, licks it with his bare tongue, takes a respectable mouthful of liquor, and turns to the sick person. He blows the alcohol out of his mouth over the
[273] plowshare in strong blasts, which each time makes a burst of fire shoot out toward the sick person. Then he takes the plowshare in front of the gate and places it at the foot of the yard wall. There the men immediately throw earth over it and wall it in.

755 The drink of the sick: Now the shaman again goes into
756 the room of the sick person. A man extends an iron spoon to him. He rips off a piece of the hada on his protective-mirror, places it in the spoon, and throws a few barley kernels in it. Then a man pours water into the spoon until it is full, holds it

[864 cont.]

782 [792] The fire-pouring: On the morning of the seventh day, immediately after sunrise, the lama says his morning prayer, drinks tea, and makes the fire-torma. Meanwhile, after the incense offering, everything is prepared outside for the fire ceremony.

Next to the burning-place a large iron kettle for melting the butter is put on three stones. A pile of firewood lies next to it. A felt mat for the lama is put to the west of the wall, for he always sits facing east. Sometimes a broad kang table is set up, which serves the lama as a seat. On it is put a piece of wide cloth, which during the fire-pouring he places over his knees for protection, so that [illustration appears here] no liquid butter will drip on his clothes. Next to the seat one places the fire fan [372] consisting of a piece of white cloth that is provided with two little parallel sticks, so that the lama can grasp it with both hands. The fire is fanned with it because one may not pollute it [783] with his breath.

In front of the lama-seat and the wall there is a small table for the cult implements, prayer book, bell, etc. To the right of the seat there stands a small table on which to put the pouring-tube and the spoon. To the left, next to the lama-seat, one puts a wide board or a door taken off its hinges, over which one spreads a sack, and over that a white cloth runner. [Illustrations a, b, c, and d appear here.] [865] The tray with the pieces of wood and the 12 little plates with the burning-spices are on top of that. Furthermore the following are kept [372] in readiness: several flintstones or a box of matches, a butter-lamp, a paper lantern, and a lighting pole such as is also used at the cremation.

782 792 Now the lama comes out with the fire-torma and puts it in the center of the ground-drawing on a layer of cypress twigs. Around this the men pile up the prescribed firewood in the shape of an octogon that tapers toward the top, leaving an empty space in the center around the torma. They then fill this space with cypress twigs. The gift-master then ceremoniously hands a hada to the lama and requests him to begin the ceremony. While he goes to the other side of the pile of wood and makes a threefold

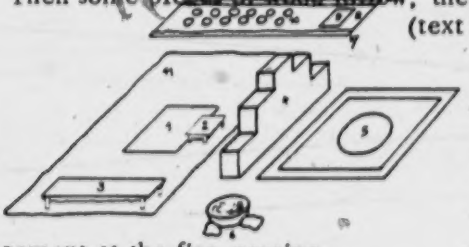
[866 cont.]

782 792 kowtow, there to the lama, the lama sprinkles the pile of wood with holy water and scatters barley kernels on it, over which he has breathed three times.

[372] Now the gift-master strikes a spark from the flint at the first blow, catches it with hemp tow, blows it to a small flame in a little bundle of straw, and lights the butter-lamp with it. Then the paper lantern lamp is lighted with the light of the butter-lamp. The ceremony and the rules are exactly the same as at the cremation. Now one hands the lama the lighting pole. [372] He holds its head of tow over the butter-lamp until it flames up and sets fire to the pile of wood with it. As soon as the fire flames high, all those present fall on their knees and make a [372] threefold kowtow. In case the fire does not burn immediately, the lama fans it with the cloth fan. Now the fire-pouring follows.

The lama places the cloth over his knees, takes the pouring tube, lays it with the outflow over the wall, holds the handle with his left hand, and with his right hand pours spoonfuls of liquid butter into the funnel, so that it flows in a stream into the fire and flames up violently. After he has done this a few times, one hands him the little plates with the burnt offerings. With the first three fingers of his right hand, he takes one of the two portions each time and with benedictions throws it into the fire. Then some pieces of wood follow, then again pourings of

(text continues on p. 299)



Arrangement at the fire-pouring.

[333] 1. Seat of the lama; 2. table for prayer books; 3. table for spoons; 4. protective wall; 5. place of burning (ground-drawing); 6. butter kettle; 7. board; 8. cloth runner; 9. tray with consecration wood; 10. plates of the accompanying gifts for the burning; 11. felt mat. (Drawing according to information from the informant.)

[866 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 868 cont.]
about the various forms of the burning-place (mandala) and the Tibetan-Chinese names. Also, the addresses of the fire-pouring are different (p. 151); in addition, other burnt offerings are enumerated there.

It must be noted that among the Tujen a simple, popular form is involved, which varies according to location and the situation of the population. It is only too understandable that the ordinary people know nothing about the complicated and in part tantric symbolism. It is enough for them if through the ceremony the gods provide for their welfare and protection and if the demons remain far away.

782 The black fire-pouring: The persons are the same. The [302] lama and his helper, however, smear their faces with soot. They also wear black clothes. All objects are black, the torma, the [792] felt mat, the wall, the ground-drawing, etc.

[372] Instead of firewood one takes pig or camel dung. Black sticks are stuck around the black torma on the ground-drawing; the intestines of a black sheep are suspended on them in garland fashion. The intestines are not cleaned, but are full of dung. In place of the butter one takes black linseed oil, and the dung is soaked in it so that it will burn better.

The burnt offerings are: black barley, black linseed, the seed of the wild rape, wheat mixed with black earth, dark beans, glutenous rice colored black, herbs colored black, etc.

[778] As votive offerings for the black tormas, which represent the demons, one takes milk from a black sheep and urine from a black donkey served in a black bowl, and, as incense, pig dung.

[866 cont.]

782 [792] The place for the black fire-pouring is usually a remote ravine. One pitches black tents and lives there several days with the lama in solitude. In no case may one undertake the black fire-pouring in the vicinity of temples or human habitations.

[731] [755] [777] [776] In case of epidemics, the black fire-pouring is used preferably, in order to annoy the demons of sickness and thus to drive them away, for with them the misfortune, too, disappears.

[792] [755] Meaning: The fire-pouring is an offering for the gods; through it they are supposed to be induced to turn away misfortune and sickness (7). The seven-day prayer of the lama is

782 ● 372 [776]

7. [Foreign text pp. 868-869.] The whole gives very much the impression of a fire-offering. The informant, however, thought that it had nothing to do with it. According to him it was an offering to the appropriate Buddhas. The fire-god was also venerated with it, as the torma proved, but this was not the main thing. Nevertheless there is no doubt but that a fire-offering, Homa, is involved (cf. Lessing, loc. cit.). The Tujen name alone cannot be interpreted other than as a corruption of the Tibetan sbyin-sreg. sbyin is pronounced jin, which is very clearly to be seen in Note 8 (źūin-tsĕg). Ch. Das, p. 940, writes under sbyin-sreg: "burnt offerings as made by Tantrik Buddhists, ... sbyin-sreg-gi [869] rdzas clarified butter, articles necessary for burnt sacrifices. ... sbyin-sreg-gi yam-šiṅ ... first wood necessary for the offering" [cited in English]. (For yam-šiṅ, cf. the Tujen foreign word yiew-siṅ.) "Homa is the

[866 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text pp. 868-869 cont.] chief of all fire-sacrificials" [cited in English]. -- The DMF, p. 73, likewise has the expression dzuntsiog and writes: "name of certain libations and offerings" [translated from French]. Cf. Tib. t'sogs, "sacrificial offering" [cited in English]. Then it presents the expression lama dzuntsiog fudzuruna (= surina) and writes: "the lama performs the libations" [translated from French]. There can be no question of a libation here, and the ... tsiog (ts'og) is also not the Tibetan ts'ogs, which, according to Ch. Das (pp. 1032, 1033), means "accumulation," and, in connection with 'k'or, "offering in a circle (mandala)." Although the informant did not primarily emphasize the fire-offering, he nonetheless translated the dzuntsiog with the Chinese tao huo-t'an = literally, to pour on the fire surface = to undertake the fire-pouring. F. Lessing (p. 150) has for this the expression huo-t'an-i-kuei, roughly, rite of the fire-terrace.

782 just as important as the fire-ceremony. -- The fire-pouring is
792 widespread among the Tujen and Fandse. It is also undertaken
[17] in the lamic monasteries.

Word List (8)

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782

8. [Foreign text pp. 869-870.] In addition to the names mentioned here, I also learned in the Mongol lamasery Tsa-tsang-szu and in the neighboring monastery Fu-hai szu or Hsin-szu (Guăm-basoma) west

[866 cont.]

192
782
[824]
[776]

[Note on foreign text p. 870 cont.]
help, to save; otherwise called Tārā. -- gusia: Tibetan ku ša (from the Sanskrit) = botanical Poa cynosuroides. -- sāndoṁmani: can be analyzed into the Tibetan words seṅ (Sanskrit. siṁha) = lion, gdoṅ = face, maṇi = jewel. It is a goddess. -- šda(m)tsēni: can be analyzed into the Tibetan words rta = horse, mgrin (pronounced din) = neck, also voice; in other words: the horse-necked one, or the horse-voiced one. -- logoṅ: Tibetan klu (pronounced lu) = dragon, and gdoṅ = face. Literally, therefore, dragon-face (Unkrig).

[372] Fire-place: taw (Tib. loanword) = oven, hearth.

[778] Misfortune-torma: ġuaġ dor (Tib.).
ġuaġ = misfortune; prayer said during the preparation of this torma.

Earth-spirit torma: ġlū-šdorma.
Mountain-spirit torma: yifula-šdorma.
Fire-torma: ġal šdorma.
Earth-god spices: ġlu smān (Tib.).
dalān dierān sāmba smān = 74 pieces of spices.

[867]

[532] Measuring string: šdag paġdzin bōdoġ = pattern-drawing string.
Pattern: arasē xuar = leather model; tsialdzē xuar = paper model.

Burning-place drawing (mandala): tawni xuar.

[333] Wall: lāṅgāṅ (Chin. loanword).
Pouring tube: šge gaṅsār (Tib. loanword) = large spoon.
Ladling spoon for butter: mula gāṅsār = little spoon.
Spoon (profane): dzieġliu (Tujen).

[372] Cloth fan: ki yūelwa = air-cloth.
rlōd yāg (Tib.).
Cloth (profane): bosē.

[867 cont.]

192 Lighting pole: xuãmbar.

782 Flint and steel: kidie.

[372] Fire struck with flint and steel: kidie gal = flint-and-steel fire.

Ordinary fire: arãñka gal.

At the fire-pouring pouring there is no loss through bad weather: dsuntsiog surẽwa, dierdzia sdzũen uguei.

At the black fire-pouring pouring the demons flee: xara dzuntsiog surewa, mõ iliesgẽ xuoluode pusa sdzia (sdzim).

[372] Firewood: taw siñ (Tib.) = oven-wood.

Consecration-wood: yiew (ziew) -siñ (Tib.).

192 Tibet-herbs: dziãñgoñ (Tib. loanword) (9) [see Note 9 above].

782 tsang ts'ao (Chin.) = Tib. herb.

Tibet-flowers: kãnba (Tib. loanword).

824 ta t'ou mao hsiang (Chin.).

White grass (from Tsinghai): ndoluwã (9) [see Note 9 above]; pai-ts'ao (Chin.).

Tibetan hard grass (reed): gusia (Tib. loanword) (9) [see Note 9 above].

tsang hsi-chi (Chin.).

Tamarisk?: guãnbõ (xuãnbo); sõgã.

Poplar wood: mõdẽ = wood.

White thorn: siraldzin = yellow thorn.

Black thorn: xara rẽguodzẽ.

192 Horse-god: šdamtsẽni (Tib. loanword) (9) [see Note 9 above].

782 ma-wang (Chin.).

Cattle-god: ndigsier (Tib. loanword); niu-wang (Chin.).

776 Lion-god: sãndoñmani (Tib. loanword); shih-wang (Chin.) (9) [see Note 9 above].

Water-faced Buddha: logon rẽdziawu (Tib. loanword) (9) [see Note 9 above].

shuei-lien p'usa (Chin.).

[Pages 867-870 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes. This section ends on p. 870 of Vol. 47, and the next section begins on p. 202 of Vol. 48.]

[203 cont.]

192 778 776 means "offering container." The chortens now usually shelter the ashes of Buddhist saints or their relics and frequently also bear their pictures on the front side. Thus the meaning of an idol is connected with the whole. The chortens or stupas or suburgans are therefore the seat of a spirit or of a deceased person. A deity is present in them. They are the same as [204] what the Mongols or Tujen imagine under the expression purgan. This conception is confirmed, furthermore, by the urn shape of the stupa. In Tibetan the lower part is called bum-ba, urn, pot. As has already been shown in the case of the earth-god urn and the beńkań, urns are frequently the seat of a deity. This conception is also found elsewhere, and one might also connect the urn with the throne of the gods, which will not be discussed here. In any case, the Tujen word purgan is late and Buddhistic in origin.

776 All the inhabitants of the Buddhist, Bonist, and Taoist pantheon fall within the group of these lower gods insofar as the Tujen have taken it over. A special position seems to be occupied by the fire-spirit as hearth-god or god of the shaman fire, whom Schram so strongly emphasizes in his book concerning marriage among the Tujen. I could no longer confirm any special veneration of the shaman fire, however. If one disregards the fire offering, which is included as part of the rite of the Lamaistic fire-pouring, there remains to the people only the hearth-god, who, however, is venerated no more frequently than among the Chinese, for example. The use of fire for purification (widow marriage, leaping over fire, fumigation, red-hot stone, etc.) seems to have nothing to do with a god. It can be explained purely magically, because the demons fear the fire. They are, of course, always regarded as unclean, as the common phrase, pudag ilie, dirty demon, proves.

776 791 787 177 Of the other gods who deserve special mention, there are the shaman and soothsaying gods, who animate or temporarily take possession of the spirit-spear, the spirit-table, and the divine images, for instance, the black and white tiger, the great mother, the dragon. Furthermore, an important role is played by the god of joy (at a wedding), who probably comes from the Chinese, the horse- and cattle-king, the world-directions spirits, and the gods of the weather ministry with the smith-god

776 776 372 783

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Khan included (for Chingis is a devoutly honored deity), to the fire and to the Obo. The rite is performed in private families by lamas. Stallions are consecrated besides other animals.[3] The tenets of the religion of the Mongols seem to be as confused as those of the religion of the Monguors.

The rite used to be performed by the Turks.[4] Marco Polo, traveling through Turkistan on the way to Peking, notes the rites of the sacred animal—in this case a sheep.[5]

This rite is not to be confused with the well-known rite of the aspersion with milk of mares after the summer solstice. On an auspicious day the mares are milked and the milk is immediately mixed with sour cow's milk, so that it will become sour after a few minutes. This sour milk is thrown to the four points of heaven, with a wooden ladle, while prayers are said. The rite is performed in honor of all kinds of deities of Lamaism; all kinds of gods of heaven; of Chingis, his wives, his sons, and companions; to the spirits of mountains.[6]

CULT OF THE FIRE

A very old element of the old religion of the Turco-Mongols is the cult of the fire, whose specific offer was butter.[7] This cult had already existed in the arctic culture, "wir gehen wohl nicht fehl wenn wir wenigstens die Wurzeln irgendeine religiösen Feuer Kultus schon in die arktischen Urkultur eingesenkt lassen."[8] Fire is supposed to carry the offerings to the supreme deity.[9] It is one of the essential elements of the old religion of the nomads.[10] Among the Ch'i-tan, the god of the fire, perhaps the prototype of the sacred fire of the Mongols, received considerable attention during winter.[11] Among the Ch'i-tan, the burning of big fire-wood was originally

[3] F. A. Mostaert, *Folklore ordos, op. cit.*, 1 seq. Prof. Schuyler Cammann encountered in Ordos a sacred yearling camel wearing a necklace of sheep scapulas—it could never be ridden by man. *The land of the camel*, 167, New York, Ronald Press, 1951.

[4] Herman Vambery, *Das Turkenvolk*, 122, 1885.

[5] Yule-Cordier, **1**: 207, 1929.

[6] Mostaert, *op. cit.*, 315-322, 331. Father Mostaert also notes (*Monumenta Serica* **1**: 335, n. 19, 1935) that among the Mongols this rite, which is performed by laymen, is not specifically for Heaven but for all the Burkhans, Tengris, etc. The koumis (mare's milk) is cast from a ladle toward the four points of heaven; there is not a ladle-full for Heaven alone. This rite follows the summer solstice, by which time the colts have been born. It seems to be a thanksgiving rite, a rite of first fruits, specifically enacted for the reproduction of the horses. The Monguors, no longer having herds of horses, lack this rite.

[7] W. Koppers, Die Indogermanenfrage in Lichte der historischen Volkerkunde, *Anthropos* **30**: 23, 1935; W. Schmidt, *Ursprung* **10**: 70-76; **9**: 228-241, 534-535.

[8] Schmidt, *op. cit.*, **3**: 550.

[9] *Ibid.* **3**: 555.

[10] N. Poppe, Zum Feuerkultus bei den Mongolen, *Asia Major*, 136, 1925.

[11] Karl A. Wittfogel and Feng Chia-sheng, History of Chinese society, Liao, *op. cit.*, 214 and 239.

[P. 119(B)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

part of the investiture ceremony of the emperor.[12] During the funeral ceremonies for the emperor, the new emperor, facing the fire, made a libation and bowed thrice.[13] At the end of the year, in front of the hall (in open air), an offering of salt and sheep fat was made to the god of the fire by the shamans, and the emperor bowed twice before the fire.[14]

Butter was the original offering for the fire god among the Mongols and the Aryans.[15] Fire is worshipped among the Monguors in two ways: by fire in the open air, and fire on the hearth.

FIRE IN THE OPEN AIR

At marriages, a big fire is kindled in the courtyard where the marriage rites are performed and the dinner is served. The prostrations "to Heaven and to all the spirits" are made by the young couple in front of the fire. When the bride leaves the home of her parents a fire is built in the courtyard and speeches are made; the dinner is taken in front of the fire.[16]

During the celebration of the rite of the sixtieth birthday a big fire is built in the courtyard. First of all, at midnight on New Year's, a big fire is kindled in the courtyard and prostrations are given. The fire is not allowed to go out during the whole day, and this rite is performed before all the other rites.

In the temple yard of the village, the same rite is performed on New Year's in the same way. On the fifteenth of the first moon, a big cypress fire is kindled in the middle of the threshing floor, and small fires are built all around, over which men and women jump, singing, merrymaking, and making fun on stilts. During the whole performance of many rites enacted by lamas and shamans, very often a big cypress fire is kindled, as will be noted later.

MAGICAL POWER OF THE FIRE

Already the well-known Wei-sang has been noted, which seems to be an offering diffusing fragrance in honor of the spirits. It accompanies many rites. But fire is not only used to convey to the spirits the good feelings of the people, but often its magical power is expected to drive away evil spirits, even at the time of epidemics, epizootics, or when calamities intermittently harm the family.

When mourners return from funerals, they jump over a fire kindled at the entrance of the courtyard, so as not to be pursued and harmed by the souls of the deceased.

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[12] *Ibid.*, 223, 239, 274.

[13] *Ibid.*, 279.

[14] *Ibid.*, 267–317.

[15] Poppe, *op. cit.* 142. Edward Washburn Hopkins, *op. cit.*, 106, Agni, the fire god in old Hinduism, is a mediator between god and man, carrying to Heaven the offerings (p. 445). The ram is the sacred beast of Agni, who is seen riding a ram (p. 449). At New Year's festival on the second day is the celebration of Agni.

[16] L. Schram, *Le Mariage chez les T'ou-jen du Kansu, op. cit.*, 42–71.

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A widow who is remarrying, when she arrives at the door of her new husband's house, jumps over a fire kindled at the entrance of his courtyard, in order that the soul of her deceased husband will no longer follow and harm her.

Every time any utensil is supposed to have become impure, it is passed over a fire. The shamans and lamas, before using their religious paraphernalia, smoke them over a fire.

Usually the lamas, at the time of epidemics, try first to cajole and placate these evil doers, hoping that they will stay their calamities, making the magnificent fire offering called *tao Huo-t'an*, "the pouring of a plain of fire." It consists of burning, on a limited surface, a pile of logs of different kinds of wood, reputed to be odoriferous or expensive, with all available kinds of fragrant herbs and spices, dried aromatic flowers, all kinds of grains. The fire is lit by sparks struck from a flint, or by the rays of the sun passing through a magnifying glass, for the fire must be pure also. The fire is kept up by the intermittent pouring of molten butter on it by lamas, who recite texts during seven days in order to win the hearts of the evil doers. They make several *tormas* and design *mandalas* [17] for the arranagement of the logs. The whole is accompanied by an unusual display of the most detailed rites, for which each lama has his own explanation and his own way of acting, ringing bells, beating drums, blowing horns, while the family prostrates itself. This is the famous pouring of fire on a huge surface "in order to gain the good graces of the malignant spirits by a magnificent fire offering." [18]

Some lamas resort, for the same reason, to a "white Wei-sang." One hundred logs of odoriferous wood are white-washed with lime-wash and kindled as described above. The aim of the rite is again to pull the heartstrings of the evil spirits by means of a pure fire offering and to invite them to stop the calamities.

However, when the two rites have proved unsuccessful, the lamas try the "black Wei-sang," using the magical power of the fire for dispelling the evil spirits. In a forlorn and remote spot, a pile of the most inexpensive and dirty wood is prepared with all kinds of smelly herbs and spoiled grain. The fire is kindled with dung and on top of the blazing pile is poured the urine of a black donkey; *tormas* are made with black spoiled flour. Condemning the evil spirits with such an abject fire offering, they hope they will leave the family, or the village, in order to avoid scorn and disdain, and that the magical power of the fire for repelling them will be more effective.

[17] *Mandalas* are so-called "magic circles" by which the divinities are coerced into assisting the votary to reach "the other shore." While they are being made, the makers recite charmed sentences (dharani) supposed to have been composed by several divinities, which are used as incantations for procuring their assistance in peril as well as in ordinary temporal affairs. L. Waddell, *The Buddhism of Tibet or Lamaism*, 144, second ed., Cambridge, W. Heffer, 1934.

[18] Schröder, Der Feuerguss, *op. cit.*, 860.

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If, however, black and white rites do not work, the Monguors call for the Taoist priest, who paints all the items used (the wood, etc.), with a coat of goat blood. He binds the logs in a bundle by means of goat guts, and sprinkles goat blood upon the burning fire. The rite is called the "red Wei-sang."

These facts give evidence of the importance attached by the Monguors to the fire for purifying from uncleanliness and preventing harm caused by evil spirits. They show their devotion for the fire by having a big cypress fire kindled during the performance of religious rites and the most important moments of life, as at marriages or the celebration of the sixtieth birthday. However, fire does not only play an important role in the life of the Monguors in the open air; its role is as important in the private life of the families where it is worshipped under the form of the "fire of the hearth," the "hearth god."

THE HEARTH FIRE

Among the Monguors, the Chinese, and the Tibetans, the cult of the hearth god belongs entirely to the department of the women. Everywhere, the temple of the hearth god is the kitchen.

No wonder that the hearth god is supposed to be interested in a special way in the fecundity of the wives and the protection of the children, and that it is honored at fixed times by its own ritual.

FIRE AND FECUNDITY

When the Monguor bride arrives at the home of the bridegroom, she does not prostrate herself before her parents-in-law or before the guests, but is led straight to the kitchen. Here she worships the god of the hearth giving three prostrations, burning incense, offering a bottle of wine and her chopsticks, which she has brought with her.

It was noted in the first volume of this study that the youngest couple in the family always lives in the kitchen, where the god of the hearth is honored, because the Monguors say that in that way fecundity is assured. Women who have plenty of children and do not wish to have more will leave the kitchen and live in another room. It has been noted that, among the Mongols, the youngest son inherits his father's hearth, occupies his tent, and is called the prince of the fire.

When poor people cannot afford the luxury of a lavish marriage, nor invite guests, they marry the young couple in the kitchen "before the god of the hearth." The makeup of the new bride is done before the god of the hearth and not in the living room.[19]

An unusual practice relates to the fecundity assumed to be bestowed on women by means of the cult of the spirit of the fire (and of the god of the hearth). On the fifteenth of the first moon, at night, on the edge of the big threshing floor of the village, a number of small heaps of cypress boughs are kindled. While musicians

[19] L. Schram, *Le Mariage chez les T'ou-jen du Kansu*, 39.

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beat drums and play mandolins, all the younger wives and their husbands pursue each other, jumping over the fire heaps, merrymaking. No wives or husbands would miss this practice, for the tradition goes that it provides fecundity. However, the Yassa forbids jumping over the fire.[20]

Professor N. Poppe notes that among the Mongols the spirit of the fire is represented riding a he-goat, and that the he-goat is a symbol of fecundity, as Plano Carpini already noted.[21] This note of Professor Poppe evidences the existence of the fact that a relation existed between the fire god and fecundity in olden times. The Monguors seem not to know the existence of the god of the fire riding the he-goat, although they know that the hearth god secures fecundity. The hearth god also procures fecundity among the Buriats.[22]

FIRE AS THE PROTECTOR OF THE CHILDREN

The god of the hearth not only provides fecundity to the daughters-in-law, but it protects their children. On the second of the second moon is performed the rite of consecration of the children to the god of the hearth. In the very early morning, before boiling water for washing and making tea, the mother roasts some handfuls of spelt in the cauldron and after them some handfuls of peas. Husband and wife spread them devoutly in the courtyard in front of the door. Then the elders clip some hair from the foreheads of the children under thirteen years of age, and cut the nails on their fingers. Hair and nail parings are carefully put in a cup and covered with a red cloth. The cup is placed before the picture of the hearth god and a copper coin placed on top of it. All members of the family prostrate themselves nine times, holding incense sticks in their joined hands, and the incense sticks are then fixed before the picture of the hearth god. On the twenty-fourth of the twelfth moon, at the time the god starts its journey to Heaven, the contents of the cup are burned in the hearth, together with the picture of the god. The Monguors explain this as the yearly rite of consecration of the children to the hearth god.

CULT OF THE HEARTH GOD

Rite at the End of the Year

The most important rites in honor of the spirit of the hearth are performed at its departure for Heaven, and at its coming back from Heaven, for so important a benefactor must receive the highest honors possible, and the most affectionate greetings. This is true all over China. Men do not attend these rites.

The spirit of the hearth of the Chinese starts its journey to heaven on the twenty-third of the last moon of the year, on horseback or on a mule. The spirit of

[20] Schmidt, *op. cit.* 10: 73.

[21] Poppe, *op. cit.* 2: 135. See also n. 15, above, for Agni, the Hindu god, riding a ram.

[22] *Ibid.*, 301.

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trates itself before the spirit of the hearth, congratulates it, and is happy, for the spirit is supposed to have come back at that very moment with a load of blessings. In the early morning the elders will honor it also. 795 562 354 776

Several times I asked the Monguors whom the spirit of the hearth was going to see in Heaven. The answer was always: "Our women claim, as do the Chinese, that the hearth god is going to see 'Old Father Heaven.' It is true that the spirits are everywhere, and the women know it; but on that night they say the same thing that the Chinese say." 782

Rites During the Year

Every time women prepare food, the first bowl is always offered devoutly to the hearth god. 782

On the fifth of the fifth moon, steamed rolls, shaped like flowers, are offered to the spirit of the hearth, and willow boughs adorn its image. Nobody could explain the connection between the willow and the spirit of the hearth. (Is it a Chinese custom?)

It has been noted above that steamed rolls, prepared with the flour of the spelt of the new harvest, and a lamp kindled with the new oil of the year, are offered to the spirit of the hearth. On the fifteenth of the eighth moon, rolls and a chicken are offered to the spirit of the hearth. On the eighth of the last moon of the year, a piece of ice is put before it. (Is this a Chinese custom?)

If a member of the family has been smitten with a severe disease, old people claim that the spirit of the hearth is angry and taking in ill grace the uncleanliness of the women for having let milk drip in the fire, or for having poured water on it and on the ashes, or for poking the fire with an iron rod. In that event, rolls, wine, and chicken are offered and prostrations are made. Sometimes a sheep is offered, and a lama is invited to pray in propitiation before the image of the spirit of the hearth.

When eyes are sore, or when there is trouble with scalp and hair, the spirit of the hearth has to play physician. Before the image, a red-hot stone is put in a pot of water in which aromatic leaves of wild mint are boiled. The sick man, after prostrating himself, bows over the pot and is steamed by the vapors and healed. The same rite is used to purify the sacred animal at New Year's.

It is noteworthy that the shaman is never invited by the Monguors to honor the fire or the spirit of the hearth, although once in a while a lama is invited to perform a propitiating rite. That department, like that of the sacred animal, seems to be foreign to them.

IMAGE OF THE HEARTH GOD

The old Monguors are accustomed to paste on the wall a sheet of white paper. In the middle of the paper is pasted vertically a short but wide yellow paper ribbon, under which is pasted, horizontally, a large red-fringed paper ribbon, said to be the skirt of the spirit. 776 354 372 562

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On both sides of the red skirt are pasted two small yellow ribbons, said to represent the handkerchiefs of the spirit. On the upper part of the sheet of paper is pasted, horizontally, a large red, fringed strip of paper.

The skirt and the handkerchiefs are items belonging to women's dress, and consequently the spirit is supposed to be a female spirit. Some Monguors, when the whole primitive representation is finished, write on the yellow ribbon in the center: "Lord of the Hearth." Many Monguors no longer use this old representation of the spirit of the hearth, but instead, they buy a Chinese picture. After a few years it will be hard to find out to which sex their hearth god belonged.

According to the interesting study of Professor N. Poppe, based only on old fire prayers and hymns, the god of the fire among the Mongols is a female god, called "mother of the hearth," "mother of the fire," etc., but also "king of the fire," and even "mother king of the fire." The god of the fire possesses a big family consisting of seven girls and five boys and many servants. It is not clear why prayers and hymns are sung once for the king of the fire, and once for the lady.[23]

Among the Mongols, as among the Monguors, the most important act of honoring the god of the hearth takes place on the last days of the year. In the hymns, all kind of blessings are implored from the god of the hearth, who seems omnipotent.[24]

The Tibetans, from the oldest times on, also had their "god of the hearth" and their "queen hearth god." Both were very touchy concerning the smallest impurities thrown into the fire; a trifle could upset them.[25]

Among the Tungus, the spirit of the fire is an old woman, who stays in the fire of the family; fire is to be revered.[26]

It is interesting to record that, among the Chinese also, the sex of the god of the hearth is not definitely fixed. Father Doré, studying twenty-nine sources related to the subject, notes that eight describe it as female, while a few assert that the spirit is not a single person, but a real couple, husband and wife. The remainder claim the masculine sex for their spirit.[27]

In old China.

Chieh was the spirit of the hearth, wearing red clothes and having the appearance of a beautiful woman. [*Chieh* means chignon.] It is strange that the spirit of the hearth has a female appearance. Confucius is reported to have said that the cult of the hearth is a cult of old ladies. There is a difference between the spirits of the hearth and of the fire; the last one is a male spirit, and the first a female, which is assimilated with the first woman cook.[28]

[23] N. Poppe, Zum Feuer Kultus bei den Mongolen, *Asia Major* 2: 133, 1925.

[24] *Ibid.*, 140.

[25] Hoffman, *op. cit.*, 169.

[26] Shirokogoroff, *op. cit.*, 128.

[27] H. Doré, *Recherches sur les superstitions en Chine*, Part 2, 2: 901, Shanghai, Sikawei. See also *Li-ki*, Couvreur, 1: 554. Ho Kien fu, 1899, Mission Catholique.

[28] M. Granet, *Danses et legendes de la Chine ancienne*, 308, Paris, Alcan, 1926.

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The bewilderment concerning the sex of the god of the hearth and its social position is astonishing. Sometimes the god seems to be a married couple, sometimes a single female, or a single male. The traditional picture made by the Monguor women themselves offers a definite solution concerning the sex of "their" hearth god. The traditions concerning the fecundity attached to it seem connected with the Mongol king of the fire riding a he-goat, nothwithstanding that the Monguors are unable to give any reason for this connection, and do not know anything about the existence of this he-goat rider. Maybe the solution of the puzzle is to be sought in the suggestion of Granet, that two spirits are involved, the spirit of the fire which is a male, and the god of the hearth which is a female.

OFFERING TO HEAVEN AND ALL THE SPIRITS

THE FAMILY OFFERING AFTER THE HARVEST

After the spelt is cut, some sheaves are immediately carried home and threshed. The grain is ground on the stone, which is cleansed carefully. The women steam thirteen rolls of bread made with the newly ground flour. All members of the family climb on top of the roof in their best dresses and kneel, holding incense sticks in their joined hands. The chief of the family lifts up to Heaven the salver with the thirteen steaming rolls and shouts three times, at the top of his voice, the usual "*Michioo*" and "Heaven and all the spirits." The whole family prostrates itself thankfully for the new harvest. Crumbs of bread are thrown to the four points of the compass. The Monguors say that the crumbs must be thrown in this way in order to feed the roaming, hungry, malignant spirits of the deceased, who always are on the prowl to harm the people.

The family comes down and offers the same rolls to the guardian spirit of the family, and to the spirit of the hearth, and then the whole family eats the rolls steamed with the new flour of the year.

In autumn, when linseed and colza seed are cut and the new oil is pressed, the same rite is performed with the new oil. A lamp with the new oil is kindled on the roof of the house with the usual prostrations and shoutings, another is kindled for the guardian spirit of the family, and another for the spirit of the hearth. The Tibetans in the country perform the same rite and the Chinese do also, but the Chinese thank only the "Old Father Heaven" and not "Heaven and all the spirits."

THE OFFERING OF THE SHEEP

It has been noted above that whenever a sheep is offered to a deity in the family, first of all a piece of the skin of the forehead is cut and thrown in the court yard for "Heaven" separately, with shouts of "Heaven" and no more; that a second piece is cut and thrown in the same way, with a shout of "all the spirits," and that

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/The Monguors/

N *563 M 276 [372] men make their own pipes from the leg bone of a sheep. The smoking kit, a small pouch holding tobacco, a pinch of tinder and some small flints, hangs on the belt at the waist. The light is obtained by striking tinder against the flint.

c. Clothing

N *563 M 291 [177] The Mongours have always been proud of their national costume, though since the enrollment of some Chinese into their clans, a few communities have adopted Chinese clothing. During the rule of the Chinese Nationalist government, most of the Mongours kept their own costume. According to Father Schram, M [668] [177] who made a thorough investigation of the people, they were not allowed to wear the national costume after the Communists conquered their country in 1949. It is not known whether the Communists are continuing their policy of obliterating the distinct costumes and traditions of the small minorities.

M [171] The clothing of the Mongours is not greatly different from that of the Mongols. Traditionally, the men dress much less elaborately than the women. A man ordinarily wears a dark blue cotton gown, similar to that of the Chinese, that opens on the right side and hangs a little below the knees. The upper part of the gown is loose and a sash or belt is worn at the waist, making a copious pocket in which the man carries his eating bowl and various odds and ends. When working at home, a man wears a gown of roughly woven white wool. Festival gowns of the rich are of silk or satin, and a vest or sleeveless jacket is worn over the gown. The ordinary man wears a cotton gown and jacket for festive occasions, with a plain silk or cotton sash.

In the old days, men wore trousers only when they went to town. Now they regularly wear blue cotton trousers cut in the Chinese style, with the legs stuffed into their cloth-topped knee boots. The tops of dress boots are sometimes embroidered. In winter, leather boots are worn. Few Mongours wear undercloth-ing, and neither men nor women wear stockings.

M [301] Almost every young man wears a silver-plated bracelet carved with Chinese designs, and most men wear finger rings set with coral or turquoise.

The woman's gown is very full, has wide sleeves, and hangs to her heels. It overlaps in front, and buttons down the left side. An outer gown of coarse, unwashed wool is used as a working garment. Because of the natural oil in the wool, the gown sheds water well. A sash or girdle holds both gowns at the waist. Generally the poor do not wear trousers, the two gowns being their only garments.

N *563 M 292 Well-to-do women have elaborate and gaily colored festival dresses, fancy trousers and false sleeves. Like the Mongol women, they wear fancy headdresses and boots for dress occasions. At such times the outer gown is left off and the inner